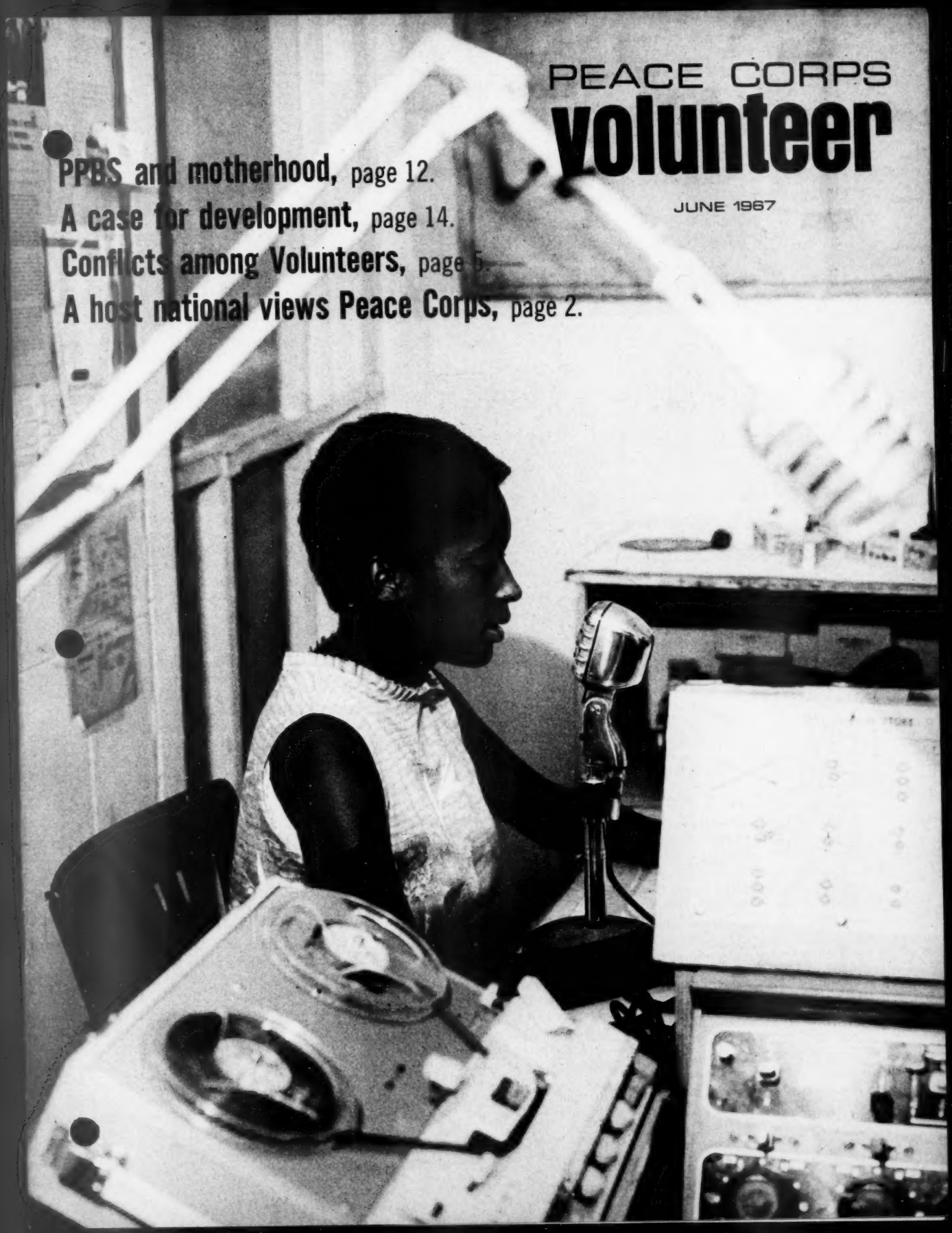

PEACE CORPS volunteer

JUNE 1967

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Photo by Thomas Sennett

Old f

I am often asked why we request Peace Corps Volunteers at all. It is not as if we in this country lack the necessary technical manpower, particularly of the degree of competence that a Peace Corps Volunteer is likely to have; and even where we lack it we have sufficient training and educational capacity to be able to fill the gap within a reasonable amount of time. Nor is it that the competence of a Peace Corps Volunteer is likely to be such that he can be a technical adviser to the Indian counterpart; he is not an AID expert.

What then is it that we look for when we ask for a Peace Corps Volunteer? When we place a Peace Corps Volunteer in any program, we are able to place him at a level in the program where his training and skill are most needed and at which particular level we seem to be unable to get an Indian counterpart with similar competence. The non-availability of personnel is therefore not absolute but is felt in a relative sense and is only one more reflection on the general problem of mobility in our society. But more important than this, what we look for in a situation for which we ask for a Volunteer is whether the nature of the task is such that attitudes are the most important ingredient of performance. It is in attitudes that the Volunteer can make his most significant contribution. We expect he would have ingenuity, initiative and dedication, not only because he would not have been a Volunteer had he not these qualities in ample measure, but also because there is the underlying assumption that it is these qualities, and the attitudes that both create these qualities and arise from them, that have contributed to the making of modern America.

It is this expectation that also places most of the limitations which a Volunteer must recognize and accept. The role of a Volunteer would be more in the sphere of attitudes than of knowledge or skills. Knowledge can be transmitted through teaching and skills can be imparted by training, but attitudes can be influenced only by example. Your greatest influence should therefore be exercised through example and not through any conscious teaching or preaching.

Volunteering is choosing

Remember that in being a Volunteer you are a different kind of person, even in your own country. It is not everybody that volunteers to do the kind of work that the Peace Corps involves and the very fact that you are a Volunteer makes you different, for better or worse, from most other persons. This will be all the more so when you come here, because the basic urges that made you volunteer to come here are, due to historical and economic circumstances, even more muted in our society. You have therefore constantly to remember that your counterpart is not a volunteer. He is an ordinary official who is doing a job because he has to earn his living. He may be honest, competent and conscientious and yet the measure of his work can never be the same as yours. The situation in the Block may have many difficulties—physical or otherwise, and yet your attitude to them will be different because you have volunteered to come here; in fact, the more difficult the circumstances the happier you are likely to feel. But the Indian counterpart is not there because of his choice and, perhaps, in many cases it is against his wishes. He has a family to take care of, a salary that is generally inadequate and a job that he has taken on purely material considerations and not because he considers it a mission in life. When you therefore compare your reactions with his in any given situation, you have to remember these differing circumstances and constantly tell yourself: "I am a volunteer; he is not." And whenever his performance or motivations fall short of the ideals you may have set for yourself, remember again that it is not due to the fact that he is an Indian and you are an American, but because he is an official doing a job and you are a volunteer on a mission. There would perhaps have been the same difference between you and an American official.

You are mostly young and you have come here before you have had any experience of working in a structured situation, even in your own society. There are certain problems that are inherent in any structured situation. There are certain aspects of human nature, many of them not very desirable, which come out when a person functions in such a situation. Struggle is very often the only form of survival in this situation and a struggle does not always bring out the best in man. Without any experience of a structured situation even in your own culture, you would be for the first time functioning here in a situation which is extremely hierarchical. You must, therefore, remember that while some of the problems you face may be peculiar to the Indian situation as such, you would have

ld fences and new frontiers

By B. P. R. VITHAL

Problems and prospects of Peace Corps service as seen by an Indian official

faced many of them in any structured situation.

You will be seeing life at a level in India that you might not have seen even in your own country. You will see the seamier side of politics; but please remember that politics is the same even in your own country. Many of the things that you see here in Panchayati Raj are, let me assure you, quite common in many city halls in the States. When politics frustrates you, remember that politics is the life breath of democracy. And if there is one thing that is as vital to you as it is to us, it is that this country should remain democratic. You cannot on the one hand expect us to be democratic and on the other blame us for much of the pettiness and frustration that goes with democratic functioning.

What societies share

Take one thing for granted; essentially in terms of human quality there cannot be any difference between us and you. Remember constantly that your own Constitution is based on the "self-evident truth" that all men are born equal. Do not therefore let any number of instances that you may come across create in you any feeling of inherent superiority. If you find the Indian counterpart failing in many obvious respects, remember first what I have already said, that he is not a volunteer but an average Indian doing a job to earn his keep. Even so you will find that in terms of moral and intellectual qualities the Indians you would be meeting would be equal to their counterparts in any other society. Every society has its share of the bad and the good. What prevents them from making their due contribution, however, is not any individual lack in each one of them but the fact that all of them are prisoners of a system. It is the system that prevents the Indian official from giving of his best or from obtaining results even when he does give of his best. The system has to be fought, it has to be reformed and perhaps, sometimes, broken; but this is the task of the Indian, this is not your task. It is not for you to try and change the system. Your only task is to understand it, and if possible, to see how with this understanding you can beat it; but it is not for you to attempt to undermine it.

Sometimes, perhaps, you might be able to circumvent it; but this is not the same as beating the system with its own rules. By circumventing it you may perhaps be able to get some job done. But here we come to the most crucial point. What exactly should be the measure of your satisfaction with your own achievement? Are you here to do a job or get a job done? Anything that you do by yourself will certainly be an achievement in itself and perhaps would give satisfaction and joy to a few people. But the crucial question is whether it would have any effect after you have left. Your real endeavor should therefore be not merely to get some job done which may give you some subjective satisfaction, but to show your Indian counterpart and others how the job can be done given the limitations of our system and the circumstances of that situation and, with only this difference, that you have brought to that situation your initiative, ingenuity and dedication. The crucial test therefore is not your individual success but whether you have been able to show that the same thing can be repeated by the Indian also, if only he also shows the same qualities. To the extent to which, therefore, you have

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ON THE COVER: Volunteer Barbara Whitlow airs a public health message on Radio Station WSZO in the Marshall Islands. For a view of the expanded roles of Volunteers in Micronesia, see Robert Evans' article on page 14. Photos by Carl Purcell.

been able to succeed by methods which the Indian cannot adopt, your success has no significance to him. What you should seek is not admiration but emulation.

It is also necessary to understand the system and its working if you do not want inadvertently to add to your problems. One of the features of our administrative system is that it rarely has two-way communication and its feedback is very often ineffective. You, on the other hand, are used to a system where feedback is considered essential. When you attempt it here, you should see to it that you do not do it in such a way that the system reacts strongly against a flow of communication contrary to its usual direction. You should also see that it does not create unexpected complications for your Indian colleagues at your level. And yet there are certain ways in which it can be done once one understands the intricacies of the system. The main route of communication may appear to be a one-way traffic but with a little patience one can always discover numerous bypasses which go in the reverse direction. It is in this, and many other such ways, that one has to explore the informal flexibility that the system has, quite contrary to what its formal rigid structure would lead one to believe initially.

How priorities appear

Very often you will get a feeling that the administration is indifferent to the point of callousness. It is no doubt true that it is so in some cases. But you must remember that even here it would be wrong to make a sweeping generalization and the more insight one develops, the more qualification one would be willing to accept. You work in a small area in a given program. The problems of that area and that program dominate your thoughts and actions, and when you find that those at higher levels are not attending to your problems you may feel that they must be indifferent. The program you are dealing with is, for example, something that concerns children. The younger you are and the more imaginative you are, the easier it would be for you to believe that this man must be evil who can be so indifferent to the problems of starving children. But remember that every time a problem is not solved, it is not necessarily due to indifference. Your problems are only a part, and very often a minor part, of the totality of problems that someone higher up has to deal with. He has to look at it in its perspective at that level because of the limitations that poverty imposes on our country, he has to assign priorities, and your problem and your program may not get that priority, no matter how urgent or how tragic it might appear to you.

Apparent indifference or even callousness is the defense mechanism that is needed for mere survival in societies overladen with problems. Nature in its mercy gives us a defense mechanism whereby we seem to be sensitive to problems only within a reasonable distance of being able to solve them. It is only the insane or the saints who can be sensitive to problems that humanity is nowhere near being able to solve. Take your own country. It is not as if the Negro problem were new. It is not as if sensitive men of your country have been born only in the last few decades. And yet the most sensitive men of each age became aware of this problem only in stages, each stage being related to the historic possibility of the solution. Lincoln was aware of the indignity of slavery, but perhaps not of much else. The succeeding generation woke up to the other problems and became sensitive to the need for equal facilities, but was as yet insensitive to the inequality that separation itself implies. And it is only now that finally men are sensitive to all aspects of this problem. So also in this country there are a number of problems, which you can immediately identify with your sensitivity nurtured in a more affluent climate to which you may think we are indifferent or callous. No doubt this has to be fought because all indifference is a blunting of human sensitivity, but remember that all men are not crusaders and for a majority of them nature in its mercy limits sensitivity to historic feasibility. Even in this matter, therefore, one has to constantly bear in mind cultural differences and remind oneself that there are no moral imperatives or absolutes but only historically and socially conditioned reactions.

You have heard that one of our greatest needs is to break away from feudal loyalties and the joint family. The basis of these arguments is that the single-generation family alone can give the kind of motivation for material advancement and saving that is essential for economic development. You cannot, on the other hand, blame these ancient values for preventing India from modernizing and at the same time expect the kind of sensitivity to continue which would make a man consider the problem of all the starving children before he feeds his own children. This does not mean that modernization and economic development kills all sensitivity; a more refined sensitivity does reappear but only later with affluence. All these implications must be constantly borne in mind before you make value judgments across the frontiers of different cultures and societies. Even in one's own society righteousness is often only vanity and across societies it rarely has a justification. And remember that this is a land where it has been taught that righteous indignation is a contradiction in terms.

Wanted: open minds

Your catholicity must extend ultimately even to conceding that perhaps the basic premise with which we started may itself not be correct. I said at the beginning that what we expect the Volunteer to contribute is more in the realm of attitudes, and that this is based on the unstated assumption that the qualities of initiative and ingenuity that make America what it is would also help us find solutions to many of our problems. But maybe this will not be so; maybe the problems are too deep-rooted and too intractable to be solved merely by a change in attitudes. One has to have the breadth of vision and the generosity of spirit to be able to concede even this, if necessary. For America the New Frontiers were the challenge. For India Old Fences are the challenge. The motivation required is different: while the former requires a conquering of the fear of the unknown, the latter requires a conquering of the fear of the known. Still, initiatives and ingenuity may help us break down old fences just as they helped you cross new frontiers. But you must keep an open mind on this. You must retain your sense of mission without becoming in any sense a missionary.

The author is the Joint Secretary of Planning for the government of Andhra Pradesh and that state's Peace Corps coordinator. This article was adapted from an address he made to a group of Volunteers.

Where Volunteers disagree

By NEIL KOTLER

If one were to characterize ideally the Peace Corps Volunteer's role overseas, a set of terms would come to mind such as "enterprising," "creative" and "innovating." Yet as a Volunteer in Ethiopia, I was dismayed by the large number of Volunteers who demonstrated a low level of initiative and self-motivation. Many Volunteers seemed, in fact, more concerned about what the others were doing—painstakingly scrutinizing, evaluating and judging each other's every action—than what they themselves had done. This was, of course, not true of all Volunteers. It usually happened where large groups of Volunteers lived.

The question arises, why were so many Volunteers "other - directed" when their role demanded a more "inner-directed" or self-motivated attitude? Were these Volunteers so genuinely concerned about the accomplishments of the whole group that they felt responsible for the behavior of their fellows? Or were they so uncertain about their own self-image, role and motivation that they were driven to seek self-justification in measuring themselves against others and deriving satisfaction and reassurance by demeaning the work of the others?

The Peace Corps community, at least in Ethiopia, was often torn by interpersonal tensions and conflicts which certainly detracted from the work of the group as a whole and often sapped the energy of individual Volunteers.

Three major types of conflicts occurred among Volunteers. One type arose among Volunteers working in the villages (or bush) and those in the towns and cities. A second conflict arose between Volunteers who regarded their work as a "nine-to-five"

job, after which time they were free to spend it as they chose, and a group which regarded Peace Corps work as a round-the-clock profession, eagerly assuming jobs beyond their official assignments. A third conflict manifested itself in a running argument between, on the one hand, Volunteers who assimilated themselves into the life of their locale, learning the language and spending much of their time with the local people and, on the other hand, Volunteers who for one reason or another were content to fulfill their assignments but were generally indifferent to participation in the local community and remained largely aloof from the local people for the length of their service overseas.

For the purpose of analysis, I have tried to illustrate the nature of the conflicts by simplifying and polarizing them in terms of contending groups of Volunteers and opposing viewpoints. Of course, the reality was more complex. There were many other inter-group conflicts among Volunteers and variations on the ones I describe. Moreover, the Peace Corps is pre-eminently a growth experience and as such it was rare for Volunteers to stick to one particular viewpoint or role for the duration of their overseas service. Nevertheless, though the reality was never static, conflicting viewpoints and inter-group conflicts persisted.

The bush vs. the town

Although the popular view of the Peace Corps Volunteer is that of a "bushnik" (a Volunteer living in a rural setting), a great proportion, perhaps even a majority of Volunteers overseas, lives in towns and cities. Often when the paths of the bush and town Volunteers cross, tensions arise. It is not surprising to find that both the bush and town Volunteers in their different ways rationalize their styles of life, the former perhaps in part to compensate for feelings of envy and the shortcomings of village life, the latter perhaps in part to compensate for feelings of guilt or shame for not living in the "image." The two groups often remain apart, if not openly belligerent, inwardly estranged. Some Volunteers in each group go so far as to develop elaborate ideologies proving that their way of life is the most meaningful.

One often hears the bush Volunteer argue that the village is where the action is. The village symbolizes human need. The town is self-sufficing. The mud hut embodies the spirit of the people and forms an unbreakable bond with them. How can living in a comfortable brick house, a bushnik might query, inspire a Volunteer to reach out to help the people? Many bush Volunteers feel their first duty is to work for the common people who need help the most, whose lives are the most deprived. For them the town is a place of relative affluence. The Westernized elites in the towns, the bush Volunteer might argue, need little if any help.

The town Volunteer might feel defensive against the arguments of his bush counterpart. The former usually admits that the village is far more impoverished than the town. The ugly face of hunger, disease and poverty in the village is hard to overlook. It is also clear that villages are the last places to get improvements (foreign visitors seldom venture out of the towns and are easily impressed by the new buildings they see which convinces them that the country is making great strides toward modernization).

Nevertheless, the town Volunteer has counter-arguments of his own. He asserts that he too is performing service by teaching or working in community action. According to some of the elaborate rationalizations of some town Volunteers, the town, not the village, is the real center of change. The town is where the elites and the brightest students, the future leaders-to-be, live. The ardent town Volunteer might argue he is in a better position to exert influence over the future leaders of the country than is his bush counterpart. The funds and personnel with which to modernize the country exist in the city. Is it not more effective, the town Volunteer might argue, to promote change from above rather than from below? To influence the elites, in turn, would effect the great-

est influence on the common people who are far more amenable to help from their own people than from foreigners.

"Nine-to-fiver" vs. "do-gooder"

Many Volunteers often complain about the number of hours other Volunteers are working. This becomes a kind of psychological parlor game for the release of tension. It seems that many Volunteers regard the Peace Corps as the great equalizer, a kind of utopia par excellence. All Volunteers receive the same salary, medical supplies and fringe benefits. But not all Volunteers live under the same conditions or work the same number of hours. Some Volunteer teachers, for example, teach a 30-hour week in addition to having extracurricular duties. Others teach less than 20 hours, and a few who have part-time assignments at two or more schools teach fewer hours and have no extra duties.

It is presumed by some Volunteers that the same inputs will automatically produce the same outputs; namely, if all Volunteers worked a 20-hour week, their accomplishments would be equal. Conversely, if a Volunteer works fewer hours, he necessarily achieves less. Regardless of what the so-called underworking Volunteers do, they invariably become the objects of other Volunteers' hostility.

The preoccupation with the number of hours Volunteers work manifests itself in a conflict between a group of Volunteers called "nine-to-fivers" and another group variously called "do-gooders" or "extracurriculars." Many of the former Volunteers, mostly teachers, feel the important thing is to perform their job, and when it ends, their time is theirs to spend as they wish. Some of these Volunteers argue that they have enough extra work as teachers preparing lessons or grading papers. A few even feel embittered when extra school duties are assigned to them.

The "do-gooders," on the other hand, often self-righteously argue it is not enough to do the assigned job, which would be tantamount to working in the United States. These Volunteers contend that the needs of the people do not cease at five o'clock and that there are many other ways beyond the regular job to help the local people. Some tutor students after school. Others volunteer for extracurricular duties at school or engage in community action projects.

When some "nine-to-fivers" are out drinking at a local bar while other Volunteers are tutoring students after class, contempt between the two groups can be high. The do-gooder group often ridicules the nine-to-fivers for being unmotivated, while the nine-to-fivers contemptuously accuse the do-gooders of being missionaries in disguise.

The assimilated vs. the aloof

The conditions of Peace Corps life largely determine the extent to which a Volunteer can assimilate himself into the local culture, learn the local language and socialize with the local people. Obviously it is easier for a bush Volunteer to assimilate than for a Volunteer living in an urban area. For the latter the temptation is great to spend most of his time with other Volunteers, especially in places of high Volunteer concentration.

One of the most heated topics of argument at Volunteer conferences involves the question to what extent it is necessary for a Volunteer to immerse himself into the environment in which he is living in order to perform effective service. The assimilated Volunteer would argue that no meaningful effort can be made in behalf of the local people unless the Volunteer

first gains their trust through speaking their language and being in intimate and constant contact with them.

Many town Volunteers have less opportunity, however, to learn the local language. In Ethiopia instruction in the schools is generally in English rather than the local language. Most of the local elite speak English and are also eager to improve their language skill, which for them is often a mark of status.

The issue of assimilation has yet another aspect. Despite the fact that male Volunteers who frequent bars are associating with local people and learning the local language through this experience, they are often chastised by other Volunteers for acting improperly by associating with the wrong class of people. Clearly many Volunteers have established for themselves and others standards of propriety with regard to assimilation which take precedence over the act of assimilation.

Ironically, it often happens that a Volunteer who takes great pains to learn the local language and involve himself in the life of his locale becomes totally frustrated. In many semi-literate cultures the foreigner who learns the local language is, in effect, opening Pandora's box—seizing hold of the spirit and secrets of the people. He is believed to possess the evil eye, and immediately becomes an object of fear and aversion. On the other hand, many town Volunteers who stay aloof from the local people and stick to doing their jobs are often viewed with respect, if not affection.

To some degree the conflicts among Volunteers are attributable to the Peace Corps situation itself. A totally heterogeneous group of people with a wide range of, and often conflicting, motives and goals, interact with each other under conditions of frequent frustration, boredom, powerlessness and estrangement—all of which combine to produce a very trying way of life.

But to a greater degree the Peace Corps itself is responsible for allowing these conflicts to exist or reach the proportions that they have in certain Peace Corps regions.

The conflict between the bush and town Volunteers is largely the result of the "tyranny of image" which the Peace Corps perpetrated during the first years of its existence. For reasons of recruiting young Americans it created an "image." In projecting such an image, however, the Peace Corps generated little appeal for older Americans who might also have contributed much, and this fact has long since been realized and regretted.

It was true in the past, if no longer as true in the present, that many Volunteers began their overseas work without a clear idea of what was expected of them. While the boundaries of the Volunteer's role were explained (e.g., it was not the Volunteer's role to interfere politically in the affairs of the host country), the emphases of his role were not made clear. The Volunteer was always left with a vague notion of just what was most essential in the role or roles he was expected to perform. The Peace Corps tended to stress the minimum demands of the role, such as fulfilling a job assignment, rather than emphasizing the potential breadth of a Volunteer's role —namely, all the activities he could gainfully perform.

Limitations of 'image'

Though the Peace Corps is presently downplaying the "image," its effects still persist to plague Volunteers. The major fault of the "image" was the fact that it seriously limited the Volunteer's conception of the range of opportunities available to him in performing meaningful, useful work overseas. The "image" served to typecast the Volunteer into the confines of a narrow self-image or one simply inappropriate for the large number of Volunteers who live in environments other than villages or who perform work other than physical labor.

The Peace Corps would have served its purpose better by emphasizing the incredible diversity of the Peace Corps world rather than projecting a narrow image of the Peace Corps work-role and environment. Between the mud hut and the city lie a thousand and one radically different environments to work in. Between the nine-to-fivers' and do-gooders' conception of their work exists an incredible range of possibilities of action. Between the assimilated Volunteer and the aloof Volunteer exists an enormously wide range of effective alternative life styles. Between succoring the poor and influencing the elite exists an equally wide range of worthwhile activities. In the Peace Corps there is not one kind of job to be done, but hundreds of different kinds. There is not one kind of environment to work through, but hundreds of different kinds.

One plausible reason why so many Volunteers were lacking in self-motivation was that without a clearer and

sturdier self-image and idea of both the demands and the possibilities of the Volunteer's role, the Volunteer, feeling confused about his own position, looked for guidelines in the lives and work of other Volunteers, and more often than not found it easier to take for granted and justify his own work by demeaning the work of others.

What developing countries need most from Volunteers is their ingenuity, creativity, imagination and drive. The peoples of these countries often possess remarkable sophistication in their social and moral habits, often far more than does the Westerner. But they lack political skills and the Western genius of inventiveness. They lack the know-how to organize men and resources into common action. They generally do not know how to create abundance out of scarce resources by innovating new techniques for solving age-old problems.

The Volunteer at his best is a social entrepreneur whose task is to arouse the aspiration for self-improvement among the local people with whom he is working by improvising new modes of life. His goal, it would seem, is to transform a situation of stagnancy, which is prevalent in most developing areas, into one of momentum toward modernization and development.

Action; not intention

Some of the most self-centered Volunteers have turned out to be among the most productive. Many an idealistic Volunteer turned out to be a failure. Many initially disaffected and unassimilated Volunteers have done brilliant work. Some Volunteers who immersed themselves deeply in the local community have proved to be ineffectual. On balance, action has proved a better measure of a Volunteer's work than intention.

The Peace Corps' major task in the years ahead is to search out the innovating and creative personality and to provide him with the maximum opportunities and resources with which to perform effective action.

The conflicts among Volunteers will persist as they do in all other human groups, but the task is to channel them into constructive directions of self-examination with the purpose of raising ever higher the quality of the Peace Corps effort.

Neil Kotler taught in Asmara, Ethiopia, from 1964 to 1966. He did his undergraduate work at Brandeis University and holds a master's degree from the University of Wisconsin.

Making the cr

For all that has been written about Peace Corps service, one important area has received little attention: the Volunteer's crucial first month in the host country. I want to explore the failure of many Volunteers to make the leap to the cross-cultural experience during that time, and to outline a remedy.

Although I discuss the Peace Corps in Nigeria, I am sure that variations of the experience here occur in any post-colonial country. If Nigeria is unique, it is probably a uniqueness of degree and not of kind. It is my contention that the uniqueness is determined not by selection, training or administrative staff—but largely by the initial experiences a Volunteer has in the overseas situation.

In Nigeria, these experiences are shaped largely by the new Volunteer's contact with veteran Volunteers, expatriate and Nigerian colleagues, students and the "man in the street."

Initially, the Volunteer is quite enthusiastic to enter the society as a participant and innovator. After 12 weeks of hearing about the romantic setting of a small village with no electricity and water from a well or spring, what he meets here destroys his expectations and hopes. It is the first blow to his self-created image as a Volunteer.

On arrival he is installed into comfortable living quarters on the school compound. If in the North, his compound may be completely expatriate. Whatever the situation, he is isolated from the population in the town both physically and psychologically. To the townspeople, he is the man on the school compound with a steward, large house and transportation. For the Volunteer, all the thoughts of mixing intimately with the people begin to dissolve. Going into town is just that —a going into—with a necessary return to the sanctuary. He is a tourist to himself and to the townspeople.

Whom does he meet? First, the veteran Volunteer. Instead of getting words of encouragement, he meets a product of the socializing process he is about to undergo. The new enthusiast is told that he might as well forget about socializing with Nigerians to a large extent, making Nigerian friends or learning the language. He will be told stories calculated to convince him that only by conforming to the life style of other expatriates can he become a good teacher. What are defined as Peace Corps activities beyond the rigid job role are really superfluous, he hears.

The veteran Volunteer is not doing this maliciously, but from a sense of guilt in not fulfilling the more challenging and more diversified role of the Volunteer engaged in cross-cultural activities. He therefore needs to rationalize his failure in this area. Secondly, having encountered a lot of frustration when he first arrived, he may sincerely be trying to inform the new Volunteer so he will "not waste his time."

Early influence

In the next few days, the new enthusiast will meet other teachers, some of whom will be expatriates. Their criticism of the country and the people will be more severe. They will go so far as to make fun of the whole idea of innovation, empathy with Nigerians and many of the more "idealistic" aspects of the Peace Corps. The new Volunteer does not have the experience, the insight or the perspective to examine critically these comments.

Then he meets the Nigerians on the staff (in the Northern Region there may be only one or two in any secondary school). Nigerian teachers are extremely self-conscious of their positions in society. The elitist mentality is very strong. They have made it, but not completely. Unfortunately, like *nouveau riche* they emulate many of the attitudes of their expatriate colleagues. They also realize that there are more lucrative jobs in the ministries which will permit them to have larger cars, bigger houses and more servants. They are also painfully aware that most expatriates on contract in Nigeria enjoy greater status, greater wealth and greater exclusiveness. This is their model for emulation. Even they, for whom the memory of the colonial experience is still vivid, will tell the Volunteers what the expatriates tell them—the people in the town, the illiterates, artisans, traders are not really worth the effort to befriend. As a teacher, he is told, he must behave in a certain way to retain the respect of the people and students.

What of the students? More than likely they will be indifferent to the interests of the Volunteer. They are most concerned about passing their external examinations, not in some young American learning a few words of their language or wanting to know about their traditional customs and beliefs. (After convincing the students of his sincere interest, he will find them most cooperative in volunteering help for language and other insights. This may take some time, though.)

His confrontations with skepticism and indifference from Nigerians are most discouraging. The Volunteer is so sure that a Nigerian will be encouraging, that when he learns otherwise he may lose all hope of making inroads in the community.

Let us assume that the novice Volunteer perseveres and continues to mix with the townspeople under the proverbial palm tree, and makes primitive attempts to communicate with the people. What kind of reaction

e cross-cultural scene

By MELVIN SCHNAPPER

does he get? There may be several, the first of which will certainly be amusement. ("Here is a rare European trying to make conversation with us. He is literally butchering our language. It sounds so funny.")

The new Volunteer, however, has no appreciation of how he appears to the people and he will become extremely frustrated and even resentful to a completely natural reaction on their part. The reactions will be the same for many months until he proves that his interest in them is sincere and intense. (Yes, he has to *prove* a great deal to everyone. Let us not forget that Nigeria has had a colonial experience; that this experience justifies distrust of all expatriates, especially if they are white.)

Only a Volunteer with an intense need to communicate and with a strong personal commitment will persevere through the above basic events of the first month. He then reaches the final crisis where a choice must be made.

What are the thought processes? Almost every encounter has been frustrating or futile. The newcomer does not even get support from his fellow Volunteers. He begins to reinvestigate the assumptions which he had before going overseas. If he holds onto the idea of participating in the host society, he will find himself alienated from the European community. He has not been in the country long enough to feel accepted or in the least unself-conscious in the Nigerian environment. At this point he reaches a crisis of decision and poses the ultimate question. Should he continue with his efforts to make inroads into the Nigerian community, when at this point he doesn't feel that he has had any success; or should he accept the patterns which are being presented to him on a silver platter containing lazy afternoons at the club pool, cold drinks in the bar, weekend dances and movies and an always easily accessible place for socializing with his "own kind of people." The former seems to present a future full of frustrations, non-accomplishment, eventual failure; the latter presents a picture of ease and self-satisfaction that comes from the "in-group" reinforcement that what is, is what should be.

It is obvious that many Volunteers have chosen the path of least resistance. Their "image" concerns are no longer shaped by what they thought of their Peace Corps role, but by what their colleagues think.

Preventive measures

What can be done to prevent the fatal exposure of this all too typical socialization process of the first month?

One remedy will be applied in the Western Region of Nigeria this spring with a new group of teachers. They will be met by old Volunteers at the Lagos airport and transported in mammy wagons (the common public transport of West Africa) to Oshogbo, the center of Yoruba cultural activity. There they will receive intense Yoruba language training from Volunteers. This will not be of the deadly classroom style; it will develop out of meaningful placement where practical Yoruba is essential. A Volunteer who knows the language will accompany the newcomer to lend practical support and encouragement. Thus, the new Volunteer will see for himself that it is possible for him to have a meaningful exchange right away.

The Volunteers running the Oshogbo program will be those who successfully related to Nigeria and Nigerians. They will also be chosen for their ability to relate their experiences to new Volunteers. During the one-week orientation, the novices will visit various posts to meet veteran Volunteers and observe for themselves that those who made the effort to break into a cross-cultural experience are much happier and more self-fulfilled because of it.

At the same time, the new Volunteers will also have access to many highly educated Yoruba citizens who have taken a deep interest in their own culture and who are delighted when a stranger wants to know about it. The newcomer will see Yoruba drama, hear Yoruba music, read Yoruba literature; he will taste local foods and stay with Nigerian families.

The week will be a "leading to" process—to the language, to the culture, to the people. The most important aspect of this period, in contrast with past orientations, is that the new Volunteer will be surrounded by veteran Volunteers who are "turned on" to the cross-cultural scene.

This week's activities, like all of the improvements in training, programming and field administration must direct the Volunteer to ask the ultimate question:

"If after two years in a foreign country, I have not learned the language, eaten the food, made at least a few good friends, had a lot of good times with the host country nationals; if I haven't gotten an understanding of a society and culture radically different from my own—an understanding which has upset and challenged some of my most basic tenets about the world, the United States, human nature and especially myself . . . if these things have not occurred, what will have been the worth of my Peace Corps Volunteer experience?

The writer is a Peace Corps "veteran" with a special interest in linguistics. He has been a teacher in Nigeria since September, 1965.

In a recent discussion of the application of the Planning-Programming-Budgeting System (PPBS) in the Peace Corps, a senior officer of the agency posed the question: "Would you try to apply PPBS to motherhood?"

The question stopped all discussion. The idea that something as beautiful and sacred as motherhood should be subjected to the statistical, often economic and somewhat exacting terms of PPBS was, at first, unthinkable.

Actually, such an application of the *idea* of PPBS is not inappropriate. Very often it happens, though not with slide rules and charts.

A definition of motherhood for clarity in this particular context would help. The purposes of this article would assume that it means both the concerns involved in the question of whether or not to become a mother and also the concerns of performing as a mother.

There is no doubt that terms such as "accident" and "unforeseen development" frequently play major roles in the initiation of motherhood, just as the same terms can apply to changing host country conditions working to the advantage of Peace Corps plans and activities.

There would seem to be increasing agreement, however, that a planned family has distinct benefits over the unplanned family, both for the parents and their issues.

The Peace Corps' approach to PPBS begins with concern for the host country's major problems. From analyzing the problems susceptible to Peace Corps skills, objectives are developed for Peace Corps activities. The purpose and focus of the Volunteers' efforts are developed.

With regard to motherhood, and the question of whether a wife should become a mother, or whether a married couple should become parents, the problem is the lack of a child, or a second child, or maybe a sixth child. Thus a major goal is to have a child. The ultimate goal is to rear a healthy, happy, productive individual.

If a man and his wife are indeed planning their family, however, the selection of such objectives must be—or logically should be—preceded with questions of medical and hospital costs, the temporary costs of a nurse or maid or maybe the air fare from Peoria for the wife's mother, baby supplies, a place for baby to sleep and so on.

If the couple intelligently is to pursue the longer-range goal of rearing

Applying P

g PPBS to motherhood

By DANIEL BAILEY

a healthy, happy, productive individual, the father should think about his financial growth in relation to the higher costs of and for the child as he grows older, and of things such as purchasing an insurance policy to guarantee the child's college education 18 years hence.

On beginning

The initial steps toward achieving the first major goal of having a child should not, normally, require much planning or training, parenthood being one of those pursuits offering enjoyable benefits in the activities aimed toward a particular goal as well as in the goal itself. But as the conditions involved in any type of planning cannot always be normal or constant, so also may the couple in question not be able to have a child. Some degree of medical investigation may be necessary. If this effort, a form of problem analysis, indicates that that problem cannot be solved in the normal way, then the couple may consider an alternative, that of adopting a child.

Once the idea of a child or children is a reality, the wisest mother is concerned with doing for her children, out of genuine love, those things necessary to help them mature healthily; and if she is like most American mothers, with no maids or governesses, she must carry out the task largely by herself.

Also, if her husband is like the majority of American husbands, that is, with a not unlimited income, she must operate within certain financial resources; and therefore she must balance the time requirements of her children (PTA, music lessons, visits to the doctor, clothes-buying, etc.) with the time requirements of maintaining her household (groceries, cooking, cleaning, etc.) and also being a companion to her husband (an occasional night at the theater, an occasional game of tennis, a trip to New York), and somehow do it all, or most of it, within financial limitations.

Thus, in the name of love literally for her husband and her children, the wise wife and mother tries to look ahead with respect to what she wants to do and what she has to do, tries to predict how many of her resources of one kind and another to give to each requirement, and necessarily by some timetable, and how much one requirement or another will cost in dollars.

To the extent, then, that PPBS means defining a problem (childlessness), developing a goal (having a child), and working toward a long-range target (rearing the child properly)—with appropriate concern for the resources the mother has and her efficient allocation of time within some kind of schedule and financial framework—motherhood is a marvelous application of PPBS.

But let us not, in Heaven's name, call it that. . . .

Before joining the Peace Corps Office of Planning and Program Review last year, Daniel Bailey was a program analyst in the Office of the U.S. Surgeon General.

Wanted: PCV decision makers

By ROBERT EVANS

Truk, Caroline Islands

I believe that the Peace Corps experience in Micronesia is an ideal testing ground for the acceptability of present Peace Corps thinking; it is here where success may well outstep the bounds now assumed possible as to the role and function of the Peace Corps in a developing society. It is possible that the Peace Corps can do more than either the staff or the Volunteers think is attainable merely because it is easier to deal with an American administration amenable to helping people provide for their own development.

The Peace Corps "image" has been implemented in Micronesia to a degree perhaps unheard of in the annals of the agency. Geography and the facts of development, or the lack of it, have made virtual total involvement the only feasible approach. Volunteers are living with Micronesian families in the village setting on isolated islands because there are no other places to live. The Volunteer in Micronesia has been compelled by circumstances to epitomize what the Peace Corps in its published pronouncements has said the Volunteer is and should be. "Getting in with the people" is easy in Micronesia and is correctly seen by the Peace Corps as a prerequisite. From that point, however, the Peace Corps has not sufficiently examined either its direction or its goals. It is very easy for the Volunteer, for instance, to view this involvement and soulful camaraderie as *the* mark of success. The successful project or mobilization of village resources is little more than frosting on the Volunteer's cake in this setting.

This attitude is attributable in large part to the agency's direction makers. After six years Peace Corps service is still not seen as a professional and coherent approach to the problems of developing nations, as the five-year limitation on staff employment indicates peripherally. It has been all too easy to publicize the Peace Corps as those noble, young, liberal arts graduates going abroad to make friends and influence people. And it is all too true that many Volunteers do go abroad imbued with a conception of themselves based upon this manufactured image. The Peace Corps has always phrased its question in terms of, "Can there be professionals in the Peace Corps?" As if regular service defied such categorization! I think it is apparent, especially in Micronesia, that the Peace Corps is burdened with at best a restricting image of itself and the Volunteers at its disposal.

Image outmoded

The situation here in Micronesia, with an American administration, is structured so that much more can be done with Peace Corps assumptions about development, but one of the major stumbling blocks to really cashing in on what the Peace Corps could be is this restricting image with which the Peace Corps has been burdened. The image of the avocational Volunteer does not square conceptually with the fact that Volunteers are where they are to help people develop things. The dichotomy between this image and avowed development goals has for many Volunteers resulted in a schizophrenic existence. Many Volunteers joined the Peace Corps quite enamored of, and committed to, the image of the Volunteer. He lived with the people, learned to understand them, got high marks for his empathy and was afforded the luxury of seeing himself as a self-sacrificing, idealistic American doing an impossible job against impossible odds.

Because of the *tabula rasa* nature of development in Micronesia, the Peace Corps has stepped in to participate in a more ideal administration. The "image" oriented Volunteer thus cannot cast himself as a Quixote tilting against the government's implacable, reactionary windmill. The government here does not qualify as a rival and has been too cooperative to be seen as one. The obvious job of development, educational or otherwise, can be tackled without intransigence and calculated governmental ineptitude.

The Volunteer has had to assume the role of a development expert who can articulate the problems and desires of the people, and who can produce exactly to the extent that he is capable of assuming the functions of an "administration man," procuring anything needed from government supply, and ramrodding the job while still retaining his affiliation with the people. It is obvious that the Volunteer cannot function most effectively here as an agent to change merely by communing with his charges and aligning himself against an administration. He can be effective that way, in the presently restricted Peace Corps sense, but too many other Volunteers have demonstrated that more than this is possible. It has been difficult for

Photos by Carl Purcell

Architects John Phillips (left) and Thomas Sheehan (right) with local planner on Saipan. The author sees Micronesia as an ideal place for the Peace Corps to begin recasting the Volunteer in the expanded role of professional developer.

many to accept this increased potential because the price paid for it is in terms of this constructed, self-satisfying "image." Some Micronesia Volunteers feel that the Peace Corps is short-changing their cultivated, autonomous Peace Corps "image" by getting down to the concerted practical business of development. The Volunteer is not allowed the position of a sniper who can smugly produce ex post facto commentary on a program he was not consulted about. This is an argument for a more professional approach within the Peace Corps itself to the problems of development. The goals have for too long been an unexamined, unexplained hodgepodge of platitudes, a gutteral identification with the downtrodden and their problems. Volunteers should be trained, and the Peace Corps should recognize in terms of its direction, that the Peace Corps is relevant and viable only insofar as it tackles development as its *raison d'etre*. For example, Volunteer teachers are relevant to the same extent that education is relevant in developing countries and this is at least partially determined by what the people served think of education's place in their development. They cannot be one bit more relevant and effective as long as they conceive of themselves as teachers.

Unabashed development

The Peace Corps has been noticeably silent in referring to itself as an unabashed developer, and when it does concentrate on urban or rural development programs it is invariably in terms of "felt needs" and "nobody knows what community development is but . . ." This ineffectual verbosity and hair-splitting parlor conversation has a debilitating effect upon the development results to be catalyzed by Volunteers in the field. The "felt needs" and the rest come as a result of the Volunteer's grass roots involvement and to speak of them as development principles clouds the issue. The Peace Corps is effective because it approaches development from this grass roots level and solutions to problems are a response to problems articulated at that level, but this part of the agency's development outlook is subsumed under the already overemphasized Peace Corps "image," to the detriment of the real contributions which should follow from it. The Volunteer's real value to the people lies in how he translates this understanding into wells, co-ops and the myriad attitudes, structures and institutions so desperately needed.

That is why professional attitudes toward development are essential to the Peace Corps at the Volunteer level. All the understanding and empathy in the world are not solutions to the problems at hand. The prerequisite of involvement has to be used as a tool, understood clearly as an opportunity to be tremendously effective in fostering development and translated as pragmatically as possible into attitudes and things which will further development. Volunteers should not be going back to the United States after two years saying that they could have done this or that had the culture not prohibited it, and fewer should be coming back to graduate schools to further an academic understanding of the foreign culture when it is possible to observe and participate in the ways and means by which this culture may be changed and improved upon. More should return saying that they understood the

culture and the decision process sufficiently to have been able to use it.

Volunteers should realize that as professionals, as sensitive translators of two cultures, they can and should force change just as hard and fast as their understanding of the culture and their appraisal of the Volunteer's place in it permits. In many cases the Volunteer is an imported commodity regarded with high expectations in precisely this decision-making capacity as it applies to development and in most other cases the lack of development can be traced to the fact that there are simply no decisions being made by anybody. Too often in the present setting a desirable change doesn't come about because the Volunteer meets with the inevitable obstacles and abandons the change because the "culture" makes it impossible, when in fact the only obstacle may be abdication of all decision responsibility. Professionally, these problems are ones of appraisal and approach, daily hurdles which do not assume the overwhelming significance presently attributed to them by perhaps over-sensitive Volunteers.

Meaningful work

Professionally it is acknowledged that the Peace Corps should be doing what counts. If that means crowding the underdeveloped masses into doing something only vaguely seen as an immediate benefit but invaluable later on, let's crowd and be appreciated as individual Volunteers later on, when the attitudes or things accomplished are firmly ingrained in the peoples' value system. It may never be successful even on this long-term basis, but it's a professional appraisal of what the results are likely to be and if it fails it's still a better alternative than a "Volunteer" who lives in a village for two years and leaves satisfied that his effect was profound because people will name their children after him, something they will probably do anyway.

Professionally, the Peace Corps needs self-appointed, professional developers capable of using their field experiences in making decisions which in their *professional* judgments further the process of development. This requires the utilization of the Volunteer's people-to-people empathy as an important input, a knowledge, that the professional Volunteer developer must use and contend with in determining what can be done. But it is not the immediate verifier of his success.

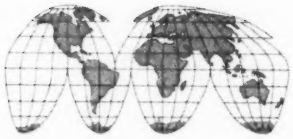
In Micronesia this has meant that several Volunteers have rapidly become administrators of needed development programs. They are professionals, and regardless of the fact that there are no other candidates available and willing to make the decisions, they are in addition professionals responsive to the people served by the programs and cognizant of their affiliation with those people. More broadly this means a Peace Corps of development-oriented Volunteers whose ultimate value lies in decision-making, not in the fact that they live at the people's level and could easily remain there as impotent Volunteer empathizers. If such a professional Volunteer's services become valuable as the administrator of a development program that might not even get off the ground without such services, so be it; he's a professional whose judgment qualifies him for the position. Ideally he is more effective in such a position because he can be a revolutionary administrator. Just as many villagers who know the Volunteer may vocally desire that the Volunteer become the local government official, so in this extended professional corps the Volunteer administrator can attempt to approximate the idea of a professional whose knowledge and affiliation still lies with the people served. At any level the Volunteer should be the professional who defines his role as being one of helping people make their decisions and implementing the desired changes.

The job of deciding

So the thesis is summarized: Peace Corps Volunteers with their village level, grass roots, "image" orientation are also capable of, indeed indispensable in, given the revolutionary development outlook implicit in the Peace Corps approach, helping to formulate the decisions which direct the course development will take in their areas. Hopefully a professionalism based upon this role conception will be forthcoming and Volunteers will go abroad imbued with this conception of themselves as Volunteers, people capable of and oriented toward making the decisions and implementing the policies and programs which make development effective at the level they know better than any other imported "developer" to come along, the level made up of the people now perhaps only ostensibly served, the level which the professional Volunteer is committed to living at and knowing about.

Robert Evans is a VOLUNTEER *correspondent based on the island of Truk. He is an English teacher.*

"The Volunteer has had to assume the role of a development expert who can articulate the problems of the people." Above, attorney Dan Persinger, who works in cooperation with the Public Defender's office on Majuro island.



Looking at voluntarism

By **THE KENYA MINISTRY OF ECONOMIC PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT**

From the host country's viewpoint, a technical assistance adviser should be regarded as a temporary, stop-gap expert helping to get a job done or a trainer of nationals to do a job. If he becomes more than this, he will be regarded as a new colonialist.

Seen in this light, among all the forms of technical assistance, volunteer service offers certain advantages. Service is for a specific period and the personnel are young and usually in subordinate positions. Still, it is sometimes hard to regard the volunteer as an expert or as a trainer of nationals and it is easy to assign him to do a specific job requiring little specific competence or with little training content. There seems to be virtue in either recruiting volunteers with some specific competence and assigning them to appropriate jobs or recruiting and assigning non-experts to situations that have considerable training potential.

Appeal of volunteering

The value of the "good all-around volunteer" is being increasingly questioned. Specific technical skills seem to be the most in demand. One country in Africa has recently decided to reject all non-graduate volunteers. Whatever one thinks of that general policy, it certainly should induce programs to become more selective and to appeal to potential recruits from a wider bracket of society. At present, most volunteer recruiting is done at the universities and it is seldom that Kenya receives a volunteer with any field experience. It will be desirable if more programs can appeal to the man and woman who have already been working in a technical or professional field for some years.

The tendency toward professionalism is going to create problems—together with improved results. The vision of the volunteer as a young, intrepid adventurer, filled with concern for humanity, squatting in a mud hut somewhere in darkest Africa was never very accurate and will become less so. One can only hope that the true picture of what exists will be attractive to volunteers or that we can shape it sufficiently to make it attractive.

Obviously, the host country must both understand the different characteristics of volunteers from various countries and must continually reflect on its own predispositions to request only a narrow range of talents. The challenge seems to be to identify high priority Development Plan objectives that are consistent with the various volunteer specialties of individual donor countries.

As with all personnel assignments, it is essential to avoid assigning volunteers to a job for which they are either over-qualified or under-qualified. It is equally important not to provide too many properly qualified volunteers for an assignment. The project approach, particularly, may provide more volunteers than it is possible to keep usefully employed. In order to keep volunteer programs viable, considerations of this kind must take priority over even such other considerations as a project's priority in the Development Plan.

Geographical distribution and, particularly, project size are important for psychological reasons. Neither the volunteer nor the people he is working with want to feel that the foreign volunteer is playing a dominant role in nation building. Many foreign faces in a community or in a building taint the atmosphere in which the typical volunteer wants to work and in which the typical citizen wants him to work. This consideration argues for a relatively widespread distribution of projects and assignments and for keeping them small.

For the most part, Kenya has found that most foreign volunteers prefer to work in rural areas and most domestic volunteers in cities. The one group wishes to be near "the people," the other to observe more rapid changes and to be near the sources of power. Fortunately, since even among foreign volunteers we find preferences for urban assignments, it has been possible, so far, to achieve a desirable, overall balance.

Volunteers as a group expect something out of their assignments that may not, at times, coincide exactly with the host country's priorities in economic development. For example, there have been individual volunteers assigned to Kenya ministries that have outstanding qualifications for assignment at the top level of the ministry in Nairobi. These volunteers might make their maximum contribution to Kenya's Development Plan by working there. But many of them would not now derive personal satisfaction from these assignments. Later in their careers, they might be happy to take a policy assignment. Kenya must be sensitive to these preferences.

Acquiring expertise

It is sometimes felt that volunteers are less qualified (largely because of short terms of duty) or less easy to control. Actually, the initial qualifications of volunteers compare favorably with those of their citizen associates and, as there is a high rate of turnover among citizens in high-level positions in the early years of development, volunteers frequently find that at the end of a two-year assignment they are relatively senior and well qualified. In terms of control, undoubtedly most volunteers *do* feel somewhat more independent on the job—this can be a virtue as well as a fault. But in an ultimate sense, it is

sometimes easier for an organization to request the reassignment of a volunteer than to reassign his civil servant associate.

High-level manpower supply and demand in developing countries can change rather dramatically in a short-run period when secondary school and university competitions are rising at a rapid rate. Under these conditions, it would be possible for salary relationships to develop that would be outmoded in relatively brief periods. But we can be sure that there will be little or no downward adjustment in salaries to reflect these changes; all one could hope for, or expect, would be differing rates of increase. Undoubtedly the use of volunteers, while designed for development purposes, has also had the fortunate effect of helping developing countries to forestall temporary distortions in income relationships.

In many areas of work, it is important to the host country to regard volunteer service as an opportunity to show a volunteer worker the satisfactions provided by a particular kind of work in a developing country. The situation is somewhat akin to the use that is made of students during vacations in developed countries. Where this is the case, it is important to the host country that there be rather easy arrangements for a volunteer to return as a non-volunteer if it is mutually desired. Some donor countries help facilitate this, others do not. This may be an important function for donor countries to concern themselves with, even when the proportion of volunteers involved is relatively small.

Volunteers as foreign aid

Developing countries would be realistic to develop an understanding of the political environment that surrounds foreign aid in developed countries. Obviously, some forms of foreign aid are more available than others. Volunteer services may become one of these. Volunteer services do present some difficult problems and there may well be a general development of opinion in host countries that fewer, higher-standard offers should be accepted. Still, if volunteer services are much more acceptable to donor countries than other forms of aid, it may pay host countries to work harder on the problems rather than taking the easier route of becoming more selective.

It is perhaps not too early to think about the long-term objectives of international volunteer efforts. It may be doubtful that developing countries will be willing to accept volunteers indefinitely as a form of inexpensive technical assistance. For example, there will be strong internal pressures against the use of expatriate teachers once a country has a large corps of citizen teachers available—even if an absolute gap exists. The day may come when volunteer work will need to be regarded largely as desirable education and work experience for the volunteer and his country. One might visualize more of a flow of volunteers to developed countries and, then, perhaps more acceptance of volunteers in developing countries. The different abilities of countries to afford this sort of education and experience could be reflected in the volume of the flow. This emphasis might also assist in meeting some of the political problems that all forms of technical assistance face in both the developed and developing countries.

This article was excerpted from a paper prepared by the Kenya ministry for the World Assembly of the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service.

Seeking new directions

By **THE THAILAND DEPARTMENT OF TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION**

The days when volunteers were popular and highly regarded per se as representatives of foreign nations are coming to an end. The future success of the volunteer movement will depend on a sound appreciation of the services which volunteers can provide to the people of the countries in which they work.

It is presently difficult for receiving countries to formulate requests for new types of volunteers (particularly those with real skills and qualifications) because they are unable to judge what possible categories of qualified volunteers the volunteer agencies might be able to recruit. Thus the initiative for proposing new types of volunteers to the receiving country is left with the volunteer agencies themselves.

It is also a major problem for receiving countries to coordinate and evaluate requests for volunteers. In view of what is said below about the objectives of the receiving agencies, some of which have never previously received volunteers, many of the requests put forward are unrealistic in terms of specified qualifications and numbers. Furthermore, the fact that a request is being made does not guarantee that a volunteer will have the opportunity to make a genuinely useful contribution to the work of the receiving agency.

In Thailand, requests have been combined into a tentative three-year plan (1968-1970) for volunteers. The number of requests probably approaches three times the number of volunteers which the (sending) agen-

cies could provide. Despite the fact that many new assignments have been listed, it has been hard to reduce the importance of certain traditional assignments which are of uncertain value and it is expected that, by and large, the existing posts will be taken up as before. The receiving country inevitably hesitates to take action which might cut down the flow of volunteers and create misunderstanding. Yet some definite pressure is needed to make a substantial improvement in the pattern of assignments.

Obstacles of training

Training courses in specialized fields have great potential value in adapting and equipping new volunteers to carry out their assignments more effectively. Three major obstacles to the effective use of preliminary training may be listed:

- Lack of funds and facilities on the part of some of the volunteer agencies.
- Lack of clearly defined and agreed job descriptions relating to the volunteers' assignments.
- Lack of precise information of the receiving countries about available training facilities in the receiving countries.

The posts to which volunteers are assigned in the receiving country are sometimes misconceived and in many cases only vaguely defined prior to the arrival of the volunteers. The agencies of the receiving country to which volunteers are attached may have a false conception of the volunteers' capabilities or a very different notion of the objectives of the program from that held by the volunteers themselves. The receiving agencies are often unwilling to adapt their existing programs and methods of work in order to enable the volunteers to play an effective part. On the side of volunteer agencies, ignorance of the requirements of assignments may lead to selection of individuals who are unsuitable for the posts in which they will find themselves.

These problems can only be resolved or diminished if both sides make a much greater effort to come to definite agreement as to the functions and responsibilities the volunteers will be expected and permitted to undertake in any assignment.

Inevitably much must be left to the enthusiasm of the volunteers. The programs must be rather flexible in order to permit the best use of the adventurous and responsive attitudes of young people thrown into challenging and extremely unfamiliar environments. Thus, in considering new assignments it is difficult to come to realistic *a priori* conclusions as to the exact nature of the volunteer's role. It is advisable that new assignments should be attempted in the first instance on an experimental basis with small groups of volunteers. This experience, and perhaps the experience of similar ventures in other countries, may then serve as a guide for developing larger programs on a more clearly defined basis. Nonetheless, we must insist on the necessity for an honest attempt to develop realistic job descriptions for the volunteers' assignments, particularly when large numbers are involved and subsequent redeployment may be difficult to organize.

The objectives of the supplying agencies are inevitably tinged by the pressures to which they are subject in their home countries. The publicity attached to some volunteer programs, and the public images which it has been felt necessary to present, are not always in the best interests of the development of a program which will serve the needs of the receiving countries. We may mention in particular:

- Publicity given to exceptional individuals which leads to a mistaken notion of the capabilities of the mass of volunteers.
- Dramatization of the rural problems of developing countries which leads to pressure for volunteers to work at a 'grass roots' level in rural programs, where they may achieve little.
- Special preoccupations of the supplying agency with its international image, and the tendency to disparage assignments where volunteers do not contribute to a reputation on which the supplying country prides itself.

We should also note that the supplying agencies often see volunteers as playing some kind of innovating role in which they are supposed to inculcate new and more worthwhile attitudes among the people with whom they work. The agencies may brief volunteers with a superior and critical attitude towards the programs of the receiving country with which they will be involved. It is dangerous for volunteers to have an approach to their task which sharply differs from the outlook of their hosts and co-workers, and the resulting friction may only reduce their value as a 'social catalyst.' Volunteers have a natural tendency to question the aims and methods of the programs in which they work. The real need is for a sensitive understanding of the values and attitudes of their co-workers.

The receiving agencies may equally be subject to pressures which are at variance with the aims of national development. Volunteers may be requested or accepted simply for the prestige which their presence is felt to attach to the organization concerned, or in certain cases for financial benefits which may accrue. The personal satisfactions which those working with volunteers may expect to receive should also be considered; for example, the opportunity to learn English or some other vital foreign language, the chance as the case may be to claim friendship with, or to dominate and take a position of superiority over, a foreign national, and so on.

The problems mentioned here point to the desirability of making use of an effective coordinating agency which can take account of the pressures on both sides and attempt to see that assignments are made with the best interests of the development of the receiving nation in view.

Most contribute little

Quite a number of volunteers in Thailand have made little direct contribution in their regular assignments. A very small minority have even made a negative contribution by leaving unfavorable impressions and disturbing or tying up organizations and individuals who were actively engaged in useful and productive tasks. A sizeable minority have made a very valuable contribution to development programs. In this situation the broad strategy should be to prevent the repetition of counter-productive assignments, and to increase the proportion of valuable ones, mainly by being more selective in the assignments of volunteers.

It is our expectation that the number of foreign volunteers in Thailand will increase from the present number of 430 to about 500 to 600 during the next three years. Although the majority of volunteers will still be assigned to the traditional fields of English teaching, community development and public health, we, nevertheless, determine to be more selective in the assignment for each individual or

group of volunteers. It is our intention to see that the volunteers will be assigned to the positions in which they will be able to make some real contribution to the development of the country.

From our experience of the problems raised by assignments in certain fields, we conclude that coordination of volunteer programs with development plans is not a matter of attempting to concentrate volunteers in fields which are regarded as having the highest priority in the national plan. Rather, it is a matter of trying to find assignments within the scope of the plan in which volunteers can play an effective role.

The following proposals are made to assist in the development of more effective volunteer assignments:

- It would be of great value to the receiving countries to have regular information on the supply of volunteers which the supplying agencies might be able to recruit. These agencies should be invited to draw up appraisals, including the categories, qualifications and possible numbers of volunteers in each category which could be recruited. We propose that the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service should collate and circulate these appraisals for the information of member organizations.
- It would be equally useful to the receiving countries and organizations to know the possibilities and limitations on training which supplying agencies could organize for their volunteers.
- The assignments undertaken by volunteers in various Asian countries should be of considerable mutual interest. Again ISVS might perform a valuable service by publishing details of assignments, including critical comments on their effectiveness, following notification by member organizations.
- Finally, we should like to urge the importance of trying to develop realistic job descriptions and of making an honest appraisal of the relative success of assignments on the part of all those concerned. As we have said above, coordination with national development plans is really a matter of searching for the assignments in which volunteers can play the most effective role.

The above article contains excerpts from a paper presented at the ISVS World Assembly held at New Delhi from March 29 to April 3, 1967.

How to apply

Competition is keener than ever among returned Volunteers for staff positions in the Peace Corps.

Margaret Conroy, director of Talent Search, reports that her office now has applications on file from some 4,500 former Volunteers, and many more are expected this year—all for a limited number of openings.

Given the large number of job seekers for staff positions in the U.S. and overseas, the prospects are not hopeful for most applicants, Miss Conroy says.

At the same time, Miss Conroy emphasizes that the Peace Corps will give full consideration to anyone who submits an application. To facilitate the recruitment and selection of staff members, Talent Search has asked Volunteers who are interested in working for the Peace Corps to submit applications before they complete service.

Miss Conroy outlined the application procedure as follows: Volunteers should give a completed Form 57 to the staff member or COR with whom he has worked most closely as a Volunteer and request that the staff member forward it with his written recommendation to the country director for his recommendation. Then, said Miss Conroy, the country director should send the complete package, with application and recommendations, to Talent Search in Washington.

Recruiters sought

During the past year Peace Corps recruitment efforts were almost completely handled by returned Volunteers, and this pattern will be continued in 1967-68. This year, however, recruiters will be hired overseas, while they are still Volunteers.

Country directors, operating under quotas established to insure the distribution of recruiters by areas served, have been given authority to hire Volunteers for these jobs. The Office of Public Affairs reports that Volunteers who are interested should apply to their country director, using the Form 57.

About 100 recruiters will be hired. Most of them will concentrate almost exclusively on campus recruiting, working out of one of four regional offices (San Francisco, Boston, Atlanta or Chicago). The recruiting year runs from September to May. The salary is $120 per week; a per diem of up to $16 is allowed when the recruiter is on the road.

Off to South Pacific

Western Samoa, a Polynesian island nation situated 4,000 miles southwest of California, will receive its first Peace Corps Volunteers this fall. About 200 Volunteers are scheduled to go to the South Pacific country in the first two groups.

The first group will train this summer for work in village health and sanitation, agricultural extension, plantation rehabilitation, produce marketing and farm credit programs. The second group, composed entirely of teachers, will train in the fall and arrive in Western Samoa early in 1968 for the beginning of the school year. They will be in elementary and intermediate schools, teaching English, health and hygiene.

Staff member lost

Richard J. Ash, an associate director in Turkey, was lost and presumed drowned when his rubber raft capsized in the Seyhan River in south central Turkey on April 15.

Ash, 25, was attempting to shoot some rapids in the river with Volunteer Michael Jerald. When the raft overturned, Jerald was thrown close to shore. He said he saw Ash for only a moment before he disappeared. Search parties worked seven days without success to locate the body.

Ash was from Huntington, N. Y. and had been a Volunteer for two years in Turkey before joining the staff there in September, 1965.

Bonds available

The Finance Branch of the Office of Volunteer Support has announced that Volunteers may now purchase new U.S. Savings notes, called Freedom Shares, in combination with Series E bonds. The smallest bond-share combination costs $39 ($18.75 for the E bond and $20.25 for the freedom share) and pays back $50 (the E bond value at maturity is $25 in seven years; the freedom share is worth $25 in 4½ years). Interested Volunteers may contact the branch at Peace Corps, Washington, D.C. 20525.

Two architects look at their jobs

. . . in Tunisia

To The Volunteer:

Thanks for your wonderful article on the Tunisia architects program (January). It makes many problems central to the situation of Volunteer architects quite clear. Unfortunately, they are not those to which Mr. Baker refers. His analytical faculties seem hampered first by a case of latrine fixation, but more severely by terrible hat-fitting troubles. Perhaps, neither of his alleged hats were able to fit.

It is probably true that the Peace Corps has been a source of some difficulties. Placement, in the early stages of a project such as this, was likely a delicate operation. Three architects in a town of 20,000, like Le Kef, were probably two too many and a particular embarrassment when evaluated in terms of the then prevailing "let's see who can build the most buildings" value system. Then too, working in an office of Italian city planning consultants sometimes may have saddled a Volunteer with one more cultural load.

Still, the overwhelming tragedy has been the "considerable mental problems" of Mr. Baker and some of his contemporaries. In the same breath that he congratulates himself for having personally supplied a badly needed master plan for Sousse, Mr. Baker turns about to scorn his professional role by claiming that it did not allow him to attack the basic problems of "health, food, rudimentary education" and lacked "the objective of work with fundamental utility." Not only were these gentlemen able to make themselves appear conspicuously aimless, they also managed to harrass current Volunteers through the myths they left and hauntingly still propagate.

Perhaps the idea never occurred that special training and services might be used to get acquainted with Tunisia and Tunisians in a manner that colonialist kinds of foreign technicians are unable to master. Perhaps it was unthinkable to consider as one's own, realms of human concern that many architects have always regarded viable territory.

Now several Volunteer architects are trying to live down the Bakerian attitude (to "behave entirely as a foreign hired hand") by spending a good deal of effort in language studies, working out feasible schemes of architectural education, and initiating projects with direct social-economic applications. It would be unfortunate to see these kinds of projects threatened by an interruption or discontinuation of this program just because Mr. Baker and friends never did quite get their hats to fit.

Tim Mitchell

Bizerte, Tunisia

. . . in Guyana

To The Volunteer:

I am a Volunteer architect turned town planner—a very similar position to that of Brooke Baker, who wrote on the problems of a professional in a city in the January issue. But at that point, I believe, the similarity between us ends. I would like to explain why, and in doing so, indicate a possible solution to his problem.

I work in the capital city of Guyana for the Town and Country Planning Department. During the first month that I spent in the city I tried to learn as much about it as possible. I searched for the city's worst problems, for its worst sections, and for the establishments in the city which were working on its problems and in its needy districts.

Georgetown is trying to recover from civil disturbances that have caused hatred to exist between the two major races. The city is also affected by unemployment and street crime.

I felt that my best action would be to help the youth of the two races better understand and respect one another. I thought at the same time I might help some young boys who would otherwise spend their free hours in the streets and alleys. There were many boys' clubs in town. Some were open only to boys of a specific religion, some were racially oriented, and some clubs served the wealthier sections of town. After much searching I found a club where I thought it possible to work on the problems of the town.

The result has been that now I live in a spare room at the club and eat with the caretaker and his family. I hold wrestling instructions on some old mattresses; I show films supplied by the United States Information Agency and the local government information agency; I referee sports contests; and I try to get the boys to develop a sense of pride for their club. To the boys, and the caretaker's family, I am just what I appear to be at the club. They realize I work for the government in a white collar job for eight hours a day, but that is a distant function that does not quite interest them.

Like Brooke Baker, I have forgotten I am a Peace Corps Volunteer. I am just someone who helps the community he lives in and commutes to another section of town to work.

It is my strong belief that there is a great need for all the professionals who can assist developing countries with their tremendous housing problems. The answer is not to abandon these more sophisticated jobs, nor is it to change the image or the function of a Volunteer.

However, it is necessary for the Volunteer professional living in a city to make "the search." He must discover his city's problems and assess his own abilities and then he can find the avenues through which he can work on these problems. By far the first and the easiest step is to leave those balconized apartments with "hot water, gas stoves, and maid services" and move into those areas of one's city that need the help. I believe we will all "feel better that way."

Joseph Branca

Georgetown, Guyana

Letters continued

A doctor's view

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

Although apparently more fortunate than most Volunteer physicians, I suffer from exactly the problems which Dr. Rogers underscores (March). Through hasty action, certainly not altogether the fault of the Washington staff, much of my time is spent in finding work which philosophically is compatible with the concept of helping people to help themselves. The needs are apparent and the avenues many to fulfill this concept, but the shame of the matter is that the assignment is not programmed so that a year is not wasted in charting out the work.

To be even more pointedly and a bit unpleasantly specific, it has been of deep concern to me that in the nine months that I have spent in the Peace Corps, I have not been able to establish who in Washington interests themselves in these very important policy matters concerning the placement of physicians. To this day I have found no one who has directed one single question concerning this in my direction. I am almost alarmed to think of six more physicians entering the Peace Corps in June, if they have been so isolated from official opinion and so misinformed as I was prior to and during my stay with the Peace Corps.

GEORGE S. BARTON, M.D.
Tunis, Tunisia

The wrong 'sell'

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

While the Peace Corps provides a chance to help, various stimulating experiences and many enlightenments, it does not help one's professional growth in engineering.

As a recently graduated civil engineer I agreed to give up two years of my career to try to "help the developing world." I do have more responsibility than I would otherwise have; however, the technical work is not recognized by state professional licensing agencies. This is as it should be.

The "What's in it for ME?" (April VOLUNTEER) approach, I submit, is too far from Kennedy's "ask not" or James' "A Moral Equivalent to War" idea and should not be used as a replacement for motivation which stems from a concern for and desire to help people who happen to be born in the "developing" world.

If the Kennedy Round has lost momentum in areas wider than tariff negotiations, then perhaps the Peace Corps should de-quantify accordingly rather than lower its (assumed) motivational quality. "But what about the recruited?" is most apropos as regards this new tack in recruitment.

KRIS G. KAUFFMAN
Khushab, West Pakistan

The generation gap

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

The troubles reflected by the Nigeria controversy seem to be due not only to a difference in immediate environments but primarily to the difference of a generation between Volunteers and senior staff. We Volunteers are living the dreams of another generation, which grew up in the shadow of World War II and came to the fore with Kennedy in 1961. For Volunteers entering training this summer, the Peace Corps has been around since before their 16th birthday. During their adult life, they have been confronted with publicity about a different kind of organization which manages to avoid the failings of other government operations. The Volunteer cannot be expected to show enthusiasm for the "bureaucratic paradise" that a senior staffer finds in the Peace Corps since he has rarely had any other experience with bureaucracies. He tends to expect and demand a degree of perfection which is rarely forthcoming.

Staff who have fixed duties that consume most of their time are more susceptible to being attracted to the romantic Peace Corps image than are the carefree Volunteers out here in the hills. In Nepal we have a good claim to being hair shirts. This satisfies for about as long as it takes to read it; which may closely approximate the amount of time some commentators take to consider the realities of life in the hills. To the Volunteer who is out here for 24 months, the concern is not about what a hero he is but about what he can contribute to a better life for his neighbors, and he expects staff to give him all the support they can in this endeavor.

Often the Volunteer is the best, if not the only, person who can judge how he can most effectively make this contribution in his particular situation. Terminating groups of Volunteers are often the only source of first hand information on the problems of the locality and the feasibility of proposed solutions to these problems. In many cases, Volunteers are the first people to have tried to implement in the field concepts which have heretofore existed purely in the realm of theory. In considering policy and programming, a dialogue is needed where the staff recognizes the Volunteer's special competence to speak in his field and the Volunteers appreciate the staff's fuller knowledge of governmental and political conditions. It was particularly depressing to read in the February VOLUNTEER about the lack of such a dialogue in the Washington office.

We all have different perspectives on the entire operation of the Peace Corps and we all have a special competence that few people share to speak knowingly on certain aspects of that operation. Everyone from the mud huts of Nigeria to the fifth floor of Peace Corps Washington should be sensitive to this when they comment on what the Peace Corps is or what it should be.

CARL HOSTICKA
Gharse, Gulmi, Nepal

The data gatherers

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

I applaud James Pines for a precise and well-written article (March). But I wonder if he and his staff are really aware of the immensity and complexity of his proposal and the task at hand.

One can safely say without any hesitation that the reason we don't know more about development and social change in tropical developing countries is because there are very few people correlating original field data with existing theory. Until this is done there can be no objective decision-making on development policy.

Assuming that most Peace Corps Volunteers are liberal arts graduates with little knowledge of theory and with no experience in collecting original field data, it is optimistic to think that Volunteers can adequately act as professional data gatherers. The fact that many Volunteers do not speak fluently host country languages and the fact that many developing countries are inhabited by distinct ethnic groups will bias data and profoundly

affect the very mechanics of data collection. Frankly, I don't think the typical country director is up to the task of scientifically designing an objective system of data collection either.

Even in tightly structured and well defined field studies, the researcher-analyst finds that his data is far from complete and thus has to say "the data indicates that . . ." or "it seems that . . ." Statistical correlations don't prove anything; they indicate relationships. And if data gathering is not carefully carried out, it would be foolish to draw conclusions from statistical correlations.

I think it highly unlikely that a study such as the one described by Pines will result in "major contributions to the study of development and social change." Rather than making mountains out of mole hills, Pines seems intent in making mole hills out of mountains.

ROY SHOEMAKER
Valledupar, Colombia

A host's opinion

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

To the women and men Volunteers of the Peace Corps, I am very happy to tell you that I am not content with your decision. Why did you decide that the Volunteers won't teach English in Africa? Can't you agree that one part teaches English and the other does something else? I tell you this, because I want the Volunteers to teach in Gabon; I think that they help us very much.

The other part can work in the area of health.

DANIEL MBA MINTSA
Bitam, Gabon

On isolating targets

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

Just for the record, rural community development and the digging of latrines are not synonymous. Also, defense of vested interests in TEFL (or any other Peace Corps endeavor) can be accomplished without snide denigration of other programs.

LINDA LAWRENCE
Samana, Dominican Republic

Letters on subjects of general interest to the Peace Corps are welcome. They are subject to condensation.

Memorandum

TO : The field DATE: June, 1967
FROM : The editors
SUBJECT: News on the Eastern seaboard (U.S.)

As usual, Volunteer finance officers are knee deep in the spring mail. They've received more than 100 letters a week on income tax questions. Somebody said Volunteers have so much trouble with tax forms because it's usually the first time they've filled them out . . . that is reminiscent of former Jamaica country director Charles Wood's observation that Volunteers didn't really suffer culture shock as much as they suffered "job shock."

□ □ □

"I'm no genius," said Margaret Hansen, "but they don't need geniuses over there. They need someone with practical experience." With that, the 43-year-old former dairy farmer (above) boarded the cargo ship African Lightning in New York for her second trip to Africa as a Peace Corps Volunteer. On the ship were her future charges—112 heifers purchased by the Nigerian government to stock an experimental farm near Lagos. Miss Hansen's first stint in the Peace Corps was spent on a rice production project in Sierra Leone. While there, she heard from back home in upstate New York that some heifers of the same blood line as the cattle she had owned on her Middletown, N.Y. farm, were bound for Nigeria. She visited the dairy farm for which they were headed and asked to be assigned there as a Volunteer. Some time later, Miss Hansen and the heifers gathered in New York harbor for the two-week crossing. Miss Hansen, wearing blue jeans, a T-shirt and black pumps (she couldn't find her work shoes) explained how she happened to join the Peace Corps: "One morning after chores I stopped for a cup of coffee with my girl friend," she said. "I saw an ad in the newspaper for the Peace Corps which stressed farming in Africa. I said, 'Gee, what a great idea,' and then I asked my girl friend if she thought I was crazy. She said yes. So I took the test, sold my farm, put my furniture in storage, and here I am."

□ □ □

We did a double take at this line from a recent report about Volunteers: "They resent the pressure of the Peace Corps Image which they take to be overly puritanical and unrealistically hung ho."

RPCVs attend job conference

More than 400 returned Volunteers attended a "career opportunities" conference sponsored by the New York State Department of Education in April.

The purpose of the New York City meeting was to match former Volunteers with jobs, primarily in the teaching field. It was the largest gathering of returned Volunteers since the Washington conference of April, 1965. But in this case the participants talked more about where they were going than where they had been.

And there seemed to be plenty of places to go for work. The more than 100 school administrators and consultants from throughout the state, excepting New York City, were anxious for the returned Volunteers to find jobs in their schools. Though several social service organizations and government agencies participated at New York State's invitation, the primary job market was education.

Some returned Volunteers reported receiving six and seven job offers in the open bargaining that took place during the weekend conference. Though some contracts were negotiated on the spot, it was apparent that most of the potential recruits and prospective employers were using the occasion for introductory purposes rather than for final contracting.

Dr. Paul Miwa, director of Peace Corps affairs for the Department of Education, estimated that about one third of the participating Volunteers would sign contracts as a result of the conference, many of them after visiting school districts.

A key selling point for both the New York educators and the returned Volunteers was the assurance that provisional state certification would, in most cases, be automatic for liberal arts graduates who had taught in the Peace Corps (overseas teaching would count for practice teaching; educational theory and methods studied in Peace Corps training would count for other required courses).

Peace Corps Director Jack Vaughn, a speaker at the conference, called the force of returned Volunteers in U.S. education "a bomb with a long fuse" and lauded New York State as "a model for placing returned Volunteers in good teaching positions."

One third of all employed former Volunteers are teachers. One eighth of them—about 170—presently teach in New York State. More than 50 of that number were recruited at a similar job conference put on by the state education department last August; another conference is planned this August.

"We like returned Volunteers," summed up one education department official.

"I like their attitude," said a school superintendent. "To hell with teaching experience—we can show a high school graduate how to teach—we want someone who's really interested in the job."

"I'm looking for people to interview me as well," said another. "I don't want someone who wants to be or presents himself as what he thinks I want—this is what you get from the teachers' colleges and even some liberal arts institutions."

"We think they can do a lot for the schools and the communities," said Paul Miwa. With tongue in cheek he added: "Now with all that out of the way—there's a heck of a teacher shortage and we need warm bodies."

Because of a teacher shortage, or in spite of it, state and city educators here and there around the country are beginning to look more favorably at returned Volunteers as potential teachers. For all states, hiring liberal arts graduates to teach means waiving or substituting certification requirements. So far, New York State, California and the city of Philadelphia are the leaders in leniency. But 12 other states say they will relax, or are willing to consider relaxing, some certification requirements to accommodate returned Volunteer liberal arts graduates and uncertified education majors.

Bob Blackburn, a former Peace Corps deputy director in Somalia who is now with the Philadelphia school system, hopes that the present idea of "accommodating" returned Volunteers will lead to a complete re-thinking nationally on certification requirements for teaching.

"Returned Volunteers are a special group who, when dealt with specially, may serve as a wedge to begin changing meaningless certification requirements," he said. Such "wedgework," said Blackburn, is a more realistic expectation of returned Volunteer impact on U.S. education than thinking, as some educators do, that the relatively inexperienced, returned Volunteer teacher is the answer to the problems of disadvantaged urban schools.

Many returned Volunteers teaching in disadvantaged urban schools in New York and Cleveland, for example, report that because of vast cultural differences between U.S. and overseas poverty structures, their Peace Corps experience has no direct application to their work.

Said Paul Miwa: "Most returned Volunteers have found teaching here harder than overseas—many wish they had had this experience before going."

> "Service in the Peace Corps overseas disqualifies any Volunteer from later working for any Federal agency doing intelligent work for a period of at least four years . . ."
>
> Peace Corps Handbook
> (first draft)
>
> *It takes that long to get your IQ back.*

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